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KOREAN REUNIFICATION:
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY

by

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June 1994

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**KOREAN REUNIFICATION:
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL SECURITY**

by

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General Administrator/Ministry of National Defense of R.O.K
M.P.A., Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea, 1988

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ABSTRACT

Korean reunification is one of the most critical issues of the post-Cold War era, not only for the Korean peninsula, but also for regional security. This study analyzes Korean reunification in the context of Northeast Asian and Northern Pacific regional security. A systemic framework is utilized as an analytical tool to examine the motivations of states with interests in the region. The study concludes that an incremental functional approach would be the most efficient and effective way to achieve Korean unification while simultaneously strengthening regional security. A stable process of unification would contribute not only to Korea's future, but also to regional and global peace, prosperity and democracy.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Cold War is over. However, a remnant of it is being waged on the Korean peninsula. The conflict between communism and capitalism is thus not yet over in Asia. The Korean peninsula contains one million troops in North Korea and over seven hundred thousand in South Korea. This military confrontation is one of the most tense and sensitive situation in the world. It has also caused tremendous pain and created many burdens for South and North Korea since the Korean War of 1950-1953. In addition, this situation presents significant security risks at both the regional and global levels.

Korea was divided into North and South after World War II. The Northern side joined the communist bloc and the Southern side joined the capitalist bloc. The separation of the two Koreas was the most serious event in Korean history. A few years after the separation, the Korean peninsula had to overcome a severe conflict which helped shape the global dimensions of the Cold War. Tensions were not resolved in this period. With the end of the Cold War, Germany and Yemen accomplished their reunifications, though the latter's appears to be failing. But although South and North Korea have held discussions on reunification, discussions have been temporarily discontinued because of the nuclear arms issue. When the issue is resolved, discussions will undoubtedly resume.

Now is the time to prepare for Korean reunification. Because the internal situation and the external environment might not be fully prepared for such a process, Korean leaders need to be very cautious in preparing for reunification. They must consider the internal and external regional environment of the peninsula, and --furthermore-- closely examine the experiences of Germany and Yemen.

Through this study I will evaluate the prospects for Korean unification. I will also assess the consequences of Korean reunification for the regional security of Northeast Asia and the Northern Pacific regions.

South Korea has developed independent, positive, and cooperative international relations with neighbor nations such as the former USSR, China, Japan, and the Southeast Asian countries. Seoul's foreign policies are based on the ROK's close military relations with the United States of America. Efforts to expand these ties could help improve the regional security environment. Korean reunification is one of the most critical issues of the post-Cold War era, not only for the Korean peninsula, but also for regional and world security, given the potential for escalation posed by the spectre of weapons of mass destruction.

Reunification would help complete the last stage of the Cold War. Both Koreas --South and North-- enthusiastically want to accomplish unification though perhaps by different

means, and in diffrent teams. and thereby contribute to regional and worldwide peace.¹

A peaceful approach will be helpful to achieve Korean reunification and regional security. Reunification and regional security issues are related to the cooperative efforts of South and North Korea, the big regional powers such as China, Japan, Russia and the United States, and other UN member countries. A peaceful unification process that is initiated internally, and reinforced by the regional powers, would contribute to regional stability. To this end I will discuss:

- (1) A design for a systematic approach to the study of Korean unification and regional security
- (2) A historical overview of Korea and its regional security environment
- (3) The internal and external relations of the Korean peninsula
- (4) The opportunities of regional nations in relation to the Korean peninsula
- (5) The lessons of the German and Yemeni cases
- (6) Alternatives for Korean unification & regional

¹Historically, Korea has been notable for avoiding offensive war in its 5000 years of history. In this respect, the South Korean Constitution has established a relevant article which says that Korea will reject any kind of aggressive war and will contribute to world peace and human welfare.

security

(7) Perspectives on post-Korean reunification.

II. AN OPEN SYSTEM APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF KOREAN REUNIFICATION AND REGIONAL SECURITY

As an analytical tool for this study I have built a structural and functional model which treats the Korean peninsula and its regional environment as an open system. For purpose of this study, an open system means an organizational structure whose relations with its environment are substantial. A national unit also can be understood as an open system if the nation has extensive relations with other nations and with its regional or global environment. In applying this analytical framework to Korea I will assess the following factors; a) the relevance of the open system approach to Korea, b) how the open system approach relates to organization theory, c) the environmental framework of the Korean peninsula, d) the role of motivations and activities in an open system framework, and e) the conceptual foundations of Korean reunification and regional security.

A. THE OPEN SYSTEM APPROACH TO THE KOREAN ISSUE

The Korean peninsula has been maintained as a unified cultural and national system for thousands of years. Throughout the long national history of the peninsula there are many examples of the relevance of the open system framework to Korea's foreign policies. When Korean governments have promoted foreign involvement, the nation was

able to develop well. But when governments have ignored foreign affairs, the nation experienced difficulty. In solving issues such as Korean reunification and Northeast Asian security, the Korean peninsula may need to apply the open system approach as it relates to the regional and global environment.

B. THE OPEN SYSTEM APPROACH IN ORGANIZATION THEORY

According to Huse and Cummings,² organizations, groups and people can be understood as systems. Systems are viewed as unitary wholes composed of parts or subsystems; the system serves to integrate the part into a functioning unit. When systems have relationships with external environments, they are understood to be "open systems." Open systems exchange information and resources with their environment. Key functions of these systems include: a) inputs, operations, and outputs, b) boundaries, c) feedback; and d) equifinality. Organizational systems have a series of inputs, operations, and outputs. *Inputs* are human or other resources. Inputs come from the environment or from subsystems within the system. *Operations* are the processes of transforming inputs into other forms. *Outputs* are the result of what is

² Edgar F. Huse and Thomas G. Cummings, *Organization, Development and Change*, 3rd ed. (Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1985), pp. 35-38.

transformed by the system. Boundaries can be understood as the borders or limits of the system. The concept of boundaries helps to distinguish between systems and environments. Feedback is the result of organizational performance. Feedback can be understood as a function which maintains the system in a steady state, or allows the system to change and adapt to changing circumstances. Equifinality is to achieve output through the relationship between the initial condition and the final state. The concept of equifinality suggests that similar results may be achieved with different initial conditions and in many different ways. From this perspective, nations can be understood as open systems within their regional or global environment. I will apply this open system theory to the present situation of the Korean peninsula.

C. AN ENVIRONMENTAL FRAMEWORK

Any person, organization, nation and region can exist as an open system over a given period of time. When systems change or adapt to their particular environment they can survive and develop; if they fail to do so, they will not survive.

As an open system, the Korean situation can be conceptualized in graphic terms as follows <Figure 1>.

GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT
REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT
 (The U.S.A., Russia, China, & Japan)

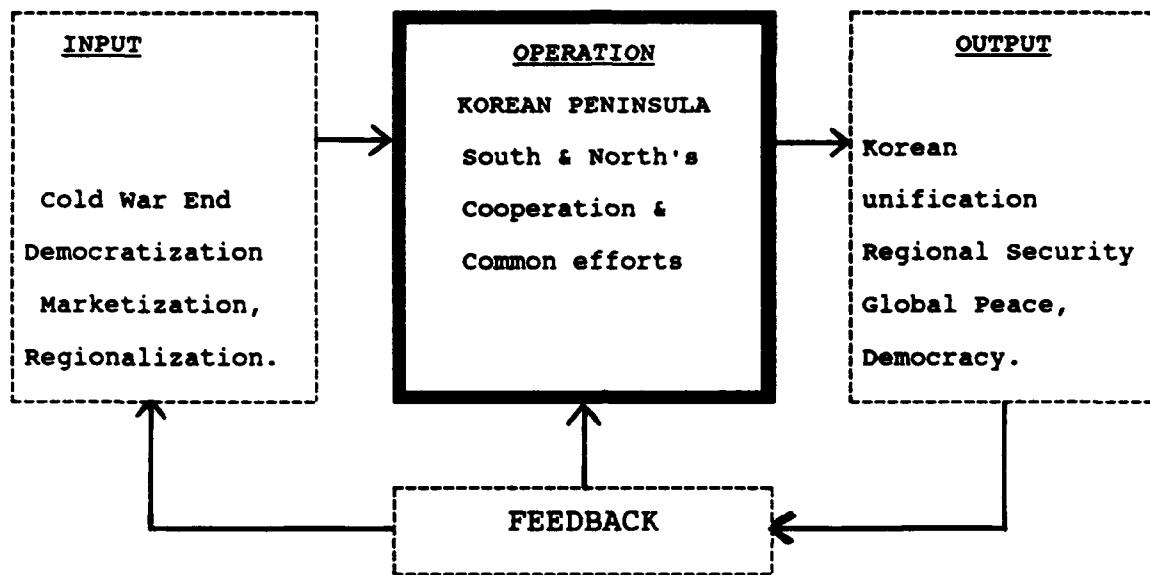


Figure 1
A System Framework Of The Korean Peninsula

In the present international environment, South and North Korea exist as separate state systems. Korean unification would mean a transition to a single state system. Because the Korean peninsula has historically developed as a single national unit, and because the two Koreas are presently seeking reunification, I will analyze the Korean peninsula in this study as one open system. South and North Korea will be conceptualized as subsystems of a single traditional Korean

system. In the regional system surrounding the Korean peninsula, I include Russia, the United States, China, and Japan, as four major powers which could affect the Korean reunification issue. In terms of geography, the United States can be excluded from the Northeast Asia region. But because of the United States' advanced mobile capability and its relations with the Korean peninsula, I have included it as a regional factor.

As noted in Figure 1 regarding global environmental factors, there are many sub areas and international organizations. Subareas include Southeast Asia, Oceania, Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, Africa, North America, and South America. International organizations include the UN and various regional security, economic, and political organizations such as the IAEA, APEC, bilateral and multinational organizations within the Northeast Asia and North Pacific region, NAFTA, the EEC and NATO of Europe, and ASEAN of Southeast Asia. In the open system context, political, military, economic and socio-cultural cooperation --with external support and through the internal efforts of South and North Korea-- will help to achieve Korean unification. These efforts will also strengthen regional and global security.

Due to the open character of this system, the subsystems outlined in Figure 1 are related in various ways and at

different levels to accomplish their own goals. Subsystem relations and activities can be viewed in historical perspective. The Korean peninsula was originally unified from AD 676 until 1945, thus for much of its history it developed as a single national system. In the present situation Korea has been divided into two sub-systems; these have developed separate identities since 1945. As an environmental factor, the four big powers (the United States, China, Japan and Russia) can perform their roles in relation to Korean issues. In the global context, regional groups and organizations which comprise the environment define their roles in relation to Korea with direct positive action or indirect passive action. The external and internal relations of this open system are complex, as each national or regional unit has its own goals and strategies.

D. MOTIVATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

In the context of the framework discussed above, I will review the foundations of motivations and activities of various subsystems. To analyze these motivation I will apply Abraham H. Maslow's theory of the hierarchy of human needs <Figure 2> because it helps elucidate the motivational basis of subsystem activities, such as political, economic, socio-cultural, and military functions.

Higher level needs	1. Needs for self-actualization 2. Needs for esteem 3. Belongingness 4. Safety needs
Lower level needs	5. Physiological needs

Figure 2 Maslow's Human Needs Hierarchy³

In Maslow's view, humans have five levels of motivational needs. They first act to meet their critical basic needs, such as their physiological and safety needs. Once these lower needs are satisfied, an individual begins to focus more on higher needs. Using Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as an analytical tool we can review the motivations of organizational, national, and regional activities. In the real world, the activities of every organization can be explained through functional factors, such as economic, political, socio-cultural, and military activities. From this point of view, national motivations (i.e., interests) based on human needs can be drawn <Figure 3> in combination with the real functional activities.

³ Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1954); and Lee G. Bolman and Terrence E. Deal, *Reframing Organizations*, (San Francisco:Josse-Bass Publishers, 1991), pp. 124-125.

<Needs; motivations>

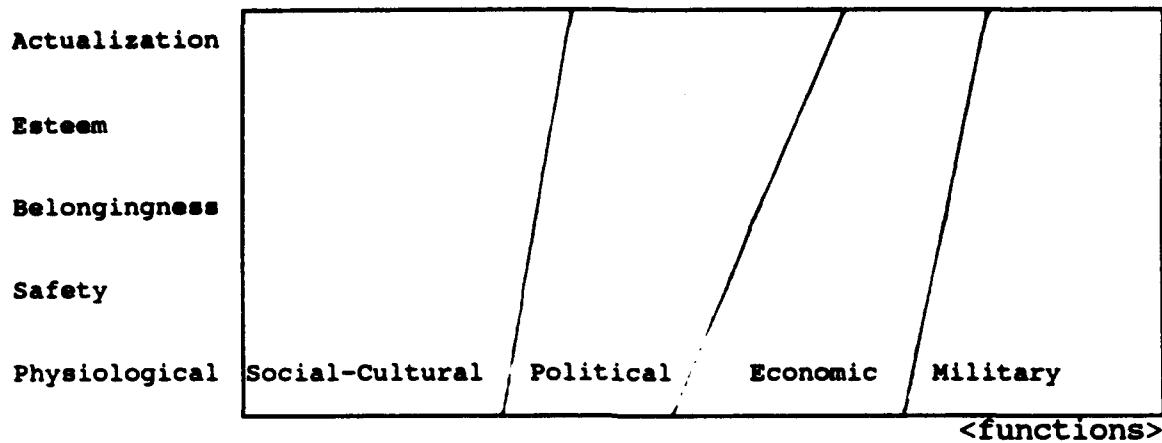


Figure 3
A Combination Of Motivational Hierarchy and Functional Activities (of individuals, nations, or regional situations)

In this <Figure 3>, I assumed that the economic and military functions are more closely related to the lower level needs such as the physiological and safety needs of Maslow's human needs hierarchy. In contrast, the socio-cultural and political functions are more closely related to the higher level needs such as belongingness, esteem and self-actualization. I also assume that in underdeveloped societies more generally lower-level needs are more critical than higher-level needs, such as belongingness, esteem, self-actualization and political, social, cultural activities. In contrast, advanced societies have already satisfied lower-level needs, and thus focus on higher-level human needs.

This general framework will manifest differences among different systems because of cultural and historical variation. The combined framework will assist in the analysis of specific open system situations. I will use the matrix outlined in Figure 3 to discuss national and regional motivations and activities.

E. CONCEPTUAL REVIEW

For an effective approach to this study, I would like to define the concept of Korean unification and regional security based on an open system approach, and the combination of functional and motivational human activities.

1. Korean Unification

In theoretical terms Korean unification denotes a change from two systems to one system within the general subsystems of the regional and global environments. For an open system to survive and to stabilize, unification would mean a change from an ineffective and inefficient system to an effective and efficient system. A unified Korea would mean an integrated system with respect to political, economic, social, cultural, and military factors.

There might be several approaches to unification: (1) an incremental functional approach, (2) a total comprehensive approach, and (3) a strategic combined functional approach which combines functional and motivational factors.

Alternatives among theses approaches need to be examined, considering internal conditions and external existing environment.

2. Regional Security

In terms of Maslow's human needs model "security" is the most basic human needs motivation factor to any of national or regional units. Security also can be achieved within the human needs context of Maslow through the political, economic, social-cultural and military functions. The post-Cold War trend is asking for us to achieve the security needs based on the regional nations' cooperation. Korean reunification has been one of the main issues to be solved in South and North Korea, and also in the regional and global community because it has been one case of the unsolved Cold War conflicts. As an open system in the regional and global context Korean unification will contribute to improve regional security, and furthermore a unified Korea will be able to play the key roles to improve regional security, welfare and democracy.

III. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KOREA AND REGIONAL SECURITY

As an example of the open system I have discussed above, the Korean context can best be understood through a chronological overview based on the past, present and future aspects of related sub-units. These include Korea and the four regional big powers: China, Japan, Russia, and the United States. In this study the functional factors to be assessed chronologically will be political, economic, social, and military affairs, based on national interests and motivations. These will draw on Maslow's five levels of human needs.

A. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT TO 1910

1. Building A Korean National Philosophy(BC 2333)

Korea is located in the Far Eastern portion of Asia. Many people of the world might not be familiar with the history of Korea.⁴ Korea has around 5000 years of national history: the first creation of ancient Korea was Ancient Chosen which was led by the legendary founder King Tan'gun-Wanggom. He established a tribal country called Kochoson in

⁴ Han, Woo-Keun, Trans. Kyung-Shik Lee, Ed. Grafton K.Mintz, *The History of Korea*, (Honolulu:University of Hawaii Press, 1974), Preface, says that "It has long been a popular demand that the history of Korea be written in a new way---." Korea has kept tremendous historical records and assets which are not familiar to western societies. Because Korea had to overcome Japanese colonialism, the Korean War and the long continued Cold War, South Korea did not have the opportunity to inform western observers of its past.

B.C. 2333. This dominated the territory between the Liao River in Southern Manchuria and the Taedong River in central north Korea. ⁵A ruling doctrine of the ancient Kochoson for political, social, economic, religious and military functions was HONG IK IN GAN.⁶ This was intended to improve human dignity and welfare for all the people. This philosophical doctrine created by Kochoson society has developed through the following generations over the 5000 years of Korean history. All Koreans believe that their historical roots are in the ancient country of Kochoson and their spiritual base is HONG IK IN GAN.

Kochoson appears to have remained until about the end of the third century B.C. During the Warring period in China, between the 6th century and 221 B.C., Kochoson confronted several ancient Chinese states, such as Yen(King Chao 312-279 B.C.) which took the Chinese title of king, Ch'in(221-202 B.C.). This unified the Warring States of China with the Han dynasty, which in turn replaced the Ch'in emperor in 202 B.C. In 109 B.C. the Han dynasty's king Wu-Ti attacked "Wanggom-song," the capital of ancient Kochoson, with an army of sixty thousand men and a navy of 7000 sailors. This attack was successfully repulsed and the Han forces were

⁵ Ibid., p. 12.

⁶ "HONG IK; 흥익 (弘益)" means to contribute welfare, and "IN GAN; 인간 (人間)" means human, people.

obliged to retire. But the next year Kochoson was surrounded by another Han attack. Han established four provinces in the Kochoson territory. Among them China's Han dynasty gave up the three provinces between 82 and 75 B.C.; Chin-bon, Im-dun, and Hyon-to, because of the resistance of the Kochoson people who constructed the kingdom of Koguryo. But one of the Han's four provinces, Nagnang was preserved until AD 313 in a part of the Korean peninsula. While Koguryo grew up as a strong kingdom in the Northern part of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria, the Paekche and Silla Kingdoms were established in the south. Korea was not one nation until the Silla dynasty unified the three kingdoms. Nevertheless, because they had grown up as one cultural group, Koreans believed they were same group and they eventually established one national system in AD 676, which was maintained until 1945 when the Cold War divided it into two national systems.

2. *The Three Kingdoms (BC 57-AD 676) and Unified Silla (AD 676)*

Between BC 57 and AD 676 the Korean people established the Three Kingdoms, which were Koguryo, Paekche, and Silla of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. Koguryo was located in the Northern part of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria. It shared a border on the northeast with China's Sui dynasty and the following T'ang dynasty. The Paekche

Kingdom was located in the southwest part of the Korean peninsula; the Silla dynasty was located in the southeast part of the Korean peninsula. These three kingdoms believed they were originally one nation and one people since the time of ancient Kochoson. Therefore, after competing for dominance, Silla unified these three Kingdoms in AD 676. The Unified Silla Kingdom was sustained until AD 918 when Silla power was transferred to the Koryo dynasty by Wang-Keun.

During the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla period, Koreans established and developed well-integrated social-political and military systems. The main economic activity was agriculture. The Three Kingdoms maintained good relation because they had a strong underlying motivation to unify as one ethnic nation. In terms of international regional conflicts, Koguryo waged several big wars with China's Sui and the following T'ang dynasty's forces in this period. Because the Koguryo forces were well prepared, Koguryo defeated Sui and T'ang's large scale attack.⁷ Silla and Paekche conducted several conflicts with Japan. In the political and cultural realm, these dynasties improved their own unique cultural, social and political development, and

⁷ Ibid., pp. 76-78, in AD 612 Sui's Emperor Yang Ti with 1,130,000 troops attacked Koguryo, but they were defeated by general Ulchi Mun-dok of Koguryo. And in AD 644, 647, 648, and 655 T'ang Emperor T'ai tsung which succeeded Sui attacked Koguryo with 200,000 troops, but they were defeated by general Yang Man-Chun and Yon Kae-so-mun of Koguryo.

in the case of Paekche, Koreans had close relationships with ancient Japanese society by delegating cultural ambassadors to teach their ancient culture to Japan.

3. *Koryo & Chosen Dynasties (AD 918-1910)*

During this period of Korean history the Koryo and Chosen dynasties established well-developed bureaucratic systems through open competitive examinations conducted annually or biennially. After 475 years and the 34 kings of the Koryo dynasty(between AD 918-1392), a new dynasty named Chosen followed (AD 1392-1910). The Chosen dynasty continued for 27 kings and 518 years until 1910 when Chosen was colonized by Japan. During the one thousand years of the Koryo and Chosen dynasties, the Korean peninsula maintained a relatively stable national identity with well-organized channels of communication and open political and bureaucratic systems. Normally the king's authority was limited by the traditional political doctrine HONG IK IN GAN, legal procedures, and a system of political checks and balances. All the king's policy orders were recorded by an office that was independent from the king's authority.

Economically, the people's level of material needs was not high and diverse. They were therefore able to get all the things which they needed, such as clothes, food, and

houses.⁸ Their needs were met within a stable agricultural social system. Cultural needs were comparatively high, and they enjoyed learning and studying through the various educational institutions.⁹ The curriculum concentrated on philosophical, spiritual, cultural, and moral areas. These educational needs can be explained with Maslow's hierarchy of human needs. The needs of this period were generally high level needs. According to Maslow's model, the people of this period would be more happy than present-day Koreans, who have suffered severely for one century-- more than any other period of Korean history.

The Koryo and Chosen dynasties experienced several external wars: from AD 1231-1273, the Mongol-Koryo confrontation was caused by the Mongol's invasion; from AD 1592-1598, the Chosen-Japan War was caused by Japan's invasion; from AD 1627-1637, the Chosen-Ch'ing campaign was caused by Ch'ing's invasion. These wars erupted because of

⁸ Through chosen period, spiritual-cultural self-actualization needs motivation such as Confucianism values was higher than material needs motivation. Therefore the people could satisfy with minimum materials.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 103-104, 239-240, 470. The Unified Silla, Koryo and Chosen dynasties established educational institutions in the capital city and in districts nationwide. For example, Unified Silla established "Kukhak" as a National School in AD 682. The teachers were called "Paksa" ("Paksa" means learned Men; in English this means "Doctor" "Ph.D."). And Chosen established "Songgyun'gwan" and "Haktang" in Seoul, and for nationwide districts "Hyanggyo" and "Sodang" were established.

external invasions of the Korean peninsula.

The Korean people are homogeneous and have used one unique language throughout their long history. Everyone keeps his or her own family histories and individual ancestors' records. Korea has developed and preserved its own alphabet, the Han'gul,¹⁰ Everyone can read easily and fluently before they are 6 years old. The Korean language is well organized, very efficient and unique. Korea has rich cultural properties. Traditionally, Korea has wanted to be a peaceful society, and has had mainly defensive wars. Prior to the Korean War, Korea was one country, with one history, one homogenous people, one language, and an integrated traditional culture. Both South and North Koreans have great pride in their cultural assets.

When the second World War was over, Korea overcame Japan colonialism. But during the Cold War, Korea was divided into two countries. At present the peninsula's difficulties appear to be only an internal conflict. But this conflict was caused by external factors. In reality it is a combined internal and external problem.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 208-209, King Sejong and his royal research institute developed and completed the present Korean alphabet which has a convenient and efficient system of phonetic writing. October 9th is Korea's holiday in honor of Han'gul.

With respect to Maslow's model, the Korean people have acquired high levels of needs through their long history. Because of external invasions, Korea has experienced many wars, but they overcame them all. The present situation is the worst ordeal in Korea's history. Contemporary Koreans feel a strong historical responsibility to resolve the conflict.

B. THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA

1. Moving toward a Consensus

The present Korean situation can be explained as follows. Korea has ten million separated families in South and North Korea since the war of 1950-1953. Nobody understands fully how painful this situation is except the Korean people. Most Koreans enthusiastically await unification of the peninsula. But during the almost half century of separation since 1945, both sides have developed their own styles, cultural biases, and value systems, with the biggest differences in the respective political and economic environments. A democratic capitalist free market system has developed in the South, and a strict one-person communist dictatorship has been sustained in the North. Now virtually everyone in the world believes that the open market system is better than the centrally planned economies of communist states. Most former communist countries have adopted free

market systems. North Korea will probably not be an exceptional case. The only remaining problems is when change will come and the way it will occur. North Koreans will also have a similar understanding of the advantages of capitalism, the free market, and democracy. Like any other approach to problem solving, Korean unification and regional security is best analyzed by applying systems theory. With regard to this approach, each regional country will participate in the system for self interest, with respect to Maslow's model of high-level human needs, even though some regional nations do not directly benefit from the Korean unification, they will choose reasonable actions that will enhance regional security. In the post-Cold War environment there is widespread agreement that democratic rule is preferable to authoritarianism. People also believe that the free market is a more efficient economic system, which has motivational incentives based on Maslow's human needs.

Contrary to this general trend, there has been only one exception. The exceptional case is the North Korea regime, which is isolated. In this respect the final unresolved Cold War obstacle is North Korea. The higher level policy makers and bureaucrats of North Korea already know the global trends, but because of their cultural bias they are not accustomed to recognizing the clear facts. South Korea is not comfortable with North Korea's dilemma, and needs to

understand the North Korean ruling group's motivations. This understanding would help resolve the long-sustained national trauma through a process of cooperative unification. Currently, there is a general agreement that Korean unification, will come soon, and the approach should be incremental, peaceful, and functional.¹¹ But some people worry about whether it will come abruptly, such as in Germany. If the South and the North Koreans choose an unreasonable strategy for unification, the result might be an inefficient one. Therefore, South Korea needs to determine whether there are right or wrong alternatives in preparing strategic unification programs for an effective and efficient approach. on the road to Korean unification. In terms of the environmental, recent global trends toward peace, freedom, free-market, democracy with the end of the Cold War and German unification, South Korean people are beginning to have more confidence in their future. In addition the domestic economic

¹¹ Yang, Ho-Min and others, *North and South Korea: The Road to Reunification*, (Seoul, Korea:Nanam Publishing House, 1992), pp. 237-254 ; Rho, Chan-Baek and others, *Tal Nang-Jeon Ei Min Jok Tong-II Ron; Post Cold War National Unification*, Ed. Lee, Joon-Gyu, (Seoul: Yejin Publish, 1993), pp.107-109, pp.453-467, pp.459-471.; Lee, Sang-Woo, "Unification Scenario," *Tong Il Si Dae: The Times of Unification of the year 2000*(Seoul , Korea: Dong-A Il Bo Sa,1993),

The South Korean Government has been expressing its unification polices based on the incremental peaceful and functional approach. Yang, Rho and his co-authors's, and Lee(who can be considered specialists on the Korean unification issue) generally agreed trends are also similar to the South Korean governments' official policies.

and political climate in South Korea has changed to a positive position.

Korea was traditionally an agricultural society. Koreans did not own excessive property. They could be happy with minimum a level of food, housing and clothing. Their most important asset was their spirituality. Thus in solving current Korean difficulties issue must be considered spiritual, high level motivations of Maslow's human needs model.

2. *Differences in South and North Korean Culture*

As stated above both South and North Koreans sustain cultural biases toward one another that jeopardize reunification efforts. It is essential that Koreans review the differences between the South and the North that have developed since 1945. South and North Korea have almost the same size of territories. South Korea has more agricultural resources and North Korea has more minerals, due to the climate and terrain of each area. South Korea has a population of 43 million and North Korea has 22 million. South Korea, with capitalism, has shown more efficient economic development than has North Korea. Politically South Korea has established a very mature democracy, in contrast to North Korea which has sustained an authoritarian regime and a one man autocracy since 1945. In terms of the military confrontation North Korea has maintained larger numbers with

one million active soldiers, most of them stationed near the demilitarized zone.

After almost half a century under different political, economic and social systems, South Koreans are more liberal and active, and live in better economic better conditions than North Koreans. Because of its closed communist system, North Korea still functions as a dynamic kingdom, similar to the period of the Chosen dynasty period. But they are well accustomed to such a dynasty in administrative terms and have been satisfied with the system, even though there is a material deficit. They do not allow discussions of the system's multiple inefficiencies. The North Korean people do not complain because they are accustomed to their life style and have been developed a unique cultural bias within their closed society.

South Koreans are accustomed to an open competitive system. They can participate efficiently in any world market, and can also accomplish major economic goals. South Korea still has strong military allies, such as the United States and the UN countries that participated in Korean War. But North Korea has lost most of its former communist allies. So now South Korea has almost recovered the original level of historical self-development capacity which Korea enjoyed during its long 5000 year history. North Korea needs to learn from the South Korean experience to adjust to contemporary

political, social, and economic conditions.

C. THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

1. *Cultural Characteristics: Korea, China, and Japan*

With respect to historical, traditional, and cultural affairs, relationships between Korea, China, and Japan are fairly sensitive. Each country manifests certain cultural biases. Koreans, for example maintain a strong pride in tradition. One of Korea's kingdoms, Paekche, sent some members of the King's family and specialists to Japan to teach their culture and techniques. Another one of Korea's kingdoms, Koguryo encountered, and successfully repulsed the Chinese when T'ang and Sui's forces invaded Koguryo. From these historical facts Koreans have displayed a very high level of nationalistic pride toward neighboring countries.

China, where Confucianism was developed, has sustained a strong position in world history with regard to the higher levels of human needs. China has strongly influenced Korean and Japanese culture with its Confucian culture and bureaucratic systems. For example, the Yen, Ch'in, and Han dynasties' iron culture replaced the bronze culture of Korea and Japan.¹² In a similar way China's T'ang, Sung, and Ming's governmental systems influenced Unified Silla, Koryo, and Chosen political, bureaucratic and social

¹² Han, Lee, and Mintz, pp. 12-14.

systems.¹³ China's national identity has been sustained without severe external threats to its traditional system of Confucian social values. But when the industrialized western countries and Japan penetrated China and Korea, the two countries were unable to efficiently integrate western material culture. In that confrontation traditional Confucian culture served to inhibit to the new western cultural styles. Traditional Confucian culture was transformed a hybrid culture combining eastern Confucianism and western materialism. This may now be occurring in China, Korea and other Asian countries. If we consider environmental circumstances it is very easy for us to understand the differences between western Europe and eastern Asia. Western European society with its competitive conflicts developed weapons to survive, and this led to the industrial revolution. The Great Britain achieved industrial development earlier than other European countries because of its isolated geographic location. This situation is similar to the Japanese case because Japan's geographical characteristics are similar to Great Britain. There were differences in the industrialization process among China, Korea, and Japan, but the fundamental cultural basis of

¹³ Ibid., pp. 90-92,129,229, The system adopted corresponded in its broad outlines to that of China, but not merely a imitation. For examples, the unified Silla, Koryo and Chosen established the balance of power between the royal court and the bureaucrats which did not arise generally in China.

the three nations rests on Confucianism. The collectivism of Asian countries can be explained by its Confucian cultural background. Japan successfully accomplished economic development using Confucian culture as a base. During the Cold War period Chinese collectivism was expressed through communism, but it was an inefficient system. Collective Confucian culture can serve as a stabilizing factor in the transition from communism to capitalism in China. Individuals in collective cultures tend to be more patient in achieving individual needs than in individualistic culture.

Because of Japan's advanced economic development, many people from other countries want to learn about Japanese culture. The Japanese also have a very strong pride. In general, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese cultures are more spiritual than material, even though they have wanted to develop material economies. The core of these cultures remains spiritual. Through their long histories Korea and China have traditionally maintained good relationships, except during the Korean War. Korea and Japan have also maintained good relationships, except between AD 1492-1497 during the Imjin Wae Ran (Korea-Japan War), and between 1910 and 1945.

2. The United States and Russia

Relationships between the United States, Korea, and

Russia date from the 19th century. At that time Russia established a close relationship with Korea. But in 1905, Russia experienced a bitter war with Japan, whose troops were better trained and equipped than those of Russia.¹⁴ Korea's Chosen dynasty experienced small conflicts with U.S. ships on the west coast of Korea when the US tried to open international relationships with Korea in the late 19th century. But the two sides soon established official relationships. Since World War II South Korea and the United States have established strong cooperative relationships. Russia has long been interested in the Korean peninsula and has tried to get along well with Korea since the 19th century. This is because Russia could access the Pacific Ocean easily only through the Korean peninsula. During the Cold War period the Soviet Union maintained close relations with North Korea. Since the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, Russia and South Korea have reestablished diplomatic relations through a variety of cooperative programs. Relations between Korea and Russia have developed through economic, social, cultural, political efforts. Except for the Cold War period Korea and Russia did not experience any serious conflict or confrontation. Russia

¹⁴ Peter J. Katzenstein and Nobuo Okawara, "Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms and Policies, pp. 85-115," International Security(Spring,1993), from the Meiji Restoration of 1868 until the end of Pacific War, a strong military have been the main objective of Japanese security policy.

has been interested in the South Korean economic development model due to its domestic economic problems.

During the Cold War the United States confronted the USSR to resist communist expansion on the Korean peninsula. It established cooperative relations with South Korea to achieve this goal. The United States has supported South Korea and can have pride in South Korea's economic and political development. In the 1990s South Korea achieved its political development after consolidating its economic progress.¹⁵ Korea has a large population, and it is a market for United States agriculture. Korea is also a good market for US defense industries.

Military tensions between the superpowers have disappeared on the Korean peninsula with the end of the Cold War. This is a good opportunity for Korea to prepare for its reunification.

¹⁵ On the 25th of February 1993, President Kim Young Sam's administration started. This means an event of political peaceful evolution in Korean history after a long period of authoritarian politics since World War II.

IV. INTERNAL & EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In the context of the current political, economic and military environments, Korea needs to prepare for coming changes by examining how to use this situation to the best advantage. Korea is in a unique position to take advantage of this situation. The four big powers can also strengthen the system and help build a better future for Korea and for the region.

A. INTERNAL RELATING OF SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA

South Korea has a pool of well-educated, trained and experienced manpower. It has a competitive educational system. North Korea, similar to the former East Germany, has not developed an efficient open market system, but it has potentially competitive people who might be well adapted if they were to establish a new free market system. Even though North Korea does not have an efficient market, they will change easily to a market system if they align with South Korea, because both countries still have similar traditional value systems. Some of these factors derive from Korean cultural characteristics, including spiritual and emotional motivations, and the efficient alphabet, Han'gul.

To reduce the differences between South and North Korea, both sides must try to meet more positively, with full confidence and trust. Because North Korea has lost her

powerful ally, the USSR, South Korea can assume a more flexible role. In a few years, after the nuclear issue is resolved, both Koreas will be able to establish more cooperative agreements concerning economic, social, cultural integration, environmental protection, family unification, and military issues. Both sides would need more time to complete a full official unification through political resolutions.

B. EXTERNAL RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, RUSSIA, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As an open system, Korea needs to consider the regional environment, including Japan, China, Russia, the United States, and other related countries.

In a short period, Korea will be competitive with Japan. Japan's economic environment is similar to Korea's. Therefore, these two countries can be competitive in relation to the Russian and Chinese markets. But for regional security, Japan would need to be cooperative in the process of Korean unification. If Japan considers that the two Korea situation was the result of the World War II, it would be more cooperative towards Korean unification and regional stability.

Japan's policies toward the two Koreas could not be the same since 1945 because Japan and South Korea have been aligned in the same bloc against the communist bloc. Japan has officially supported South Korea and normalized diplomatic relations since 1965 after 20 years of uncomfort due to the

35-year colonial experience.¹⁶ Because of historical sensitiveness and rivalries through wars, colonialism, and economic competition, Japan's behavior toward Korea was not cooperative. Both South and North Korea sustained negative feelings toward the Japanese and these feelings were reciprocated. Some Koreans complained about Japan's dual foreign policy toward the two Koreas. Japan's attitudes and national interests were created through it's conservative bureaucrat system. On the road toward Korean unification Japan's role might not be favorable. But if Japan can apply Maslow's hierarchy of human needs to its foreign policy it will improve its political, economic, and cultural behavior toward external nations.

Since the end of 19th century, Russia has traditionally been a good friend, except during the Korean war. Russia will be very cooperative toward Korean unification. Because Russia has a large underdeveloped territory in Siberia, Korean industrial corporations can participate in Siberian development. Also, because many Koreans have lived there, the transition for Korean companies to work in Russia will be easy. Russia is directly borders North Korea. The relationship between Korea and Russia is critical to the

¹⁶ Ralph N. Clough, *Embattled Korea: The rivalry for International Support*, (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987) pp.221-223.

unification process as well as regional and world peace.

China has traditionally been a good friend throughout most of Korean history. In AD 1596, the Ming dynasty sent allied forces into Korea during the Korea-Japan War. The big struggle between China and Korea was broken up during the 7th century. As mentioned above, Koguryo confronted successfully the Sui and T'ang troops. Since then, these two countries have not engaged any direct conflict except during Korean War. China is very different from Russia, especially in cultural terms. China has been a Confucian society. This Confucian heritage was one of the obstacles on the road toward modern industrial revolution and western democracy.

But the recent situation is different from past periods in which many Asian countries needed to concentrate on low level human needs such as security and basic economic development. Korean culture can be characterized as a blend of Confucianism and western democratic values. Despite its some weaknesses, Confucianism still affects Chinese society as a powerful cultural tradition. Even though China still does not have a high GNP, it is stable, and the people seem to be happy. China feels that it is the cultural center of the world, and will continue to be in the future. If we understand China's cultural character, it is not strange that China still maintains a good relationship with North Korea, as it believes that North and South Korea are both good

friends and the only obstacles are the uncompleted Cold War. In terms of spiritual and emotional values, Korea and China are very close.

China has a large population and many cultural assets. These factors will benefit Korean economic and social development. But a more important point is the recovery of an old friendship. China will never be an obstacle to Korean unification and future. Their main concern will be how to maintain and develop friendships with North and South Korea.

The United States has been a strong ally of South Korea since the Korean War in 1945. Presently, the United States has improved its relationship with South Korea with respect to the regional security of East Asia, and has demonstrated economic, political and educational cooperation, and social/cultural affection. The relationship between South Korea and United States is a whole system of cooperation. With the support of the United States, and a prominent Korean cultural identity reemerging, Korea has the fastest growing economy of the past few decades. Korea will also have the fastest growing political development after a few more years.

V. OPPORTUNITIES OF REGIONAL NATIONS IN RELATION TO THE KOREAN PENINSULA

In an open system framework related to functional and motivational factors, there are opportunities for Northeast Asian regional members to work towards Korean unification and regional security.

A. OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNITED STATES

The United States has been involved in the Korean peninsula security issue since 1945. In the fast changing international environment, a review of the US opportunities on the Korean peninsula would be helpful in exploring Korean reunification and understanding given fundamental US interests in the area.

1. *Systemic Framework*

The main actors in Northeast Asia are South Korea, Japan, Russia, China and the U.S. To accomplish its goals in this area, the United States needs to have a long-range as well as a short-term policy or strategy based on American national interests and security policy.

What are the US goals, policies, strategies, interests and security concerns in relation to the Korean Peninsula? Why, how, and when would the United States work for those purposes? These questions are fundamental issues for the United States, Korea, and other regional countries.

Based on the motivational hierarchy and the functional frame-work, the ideal goal of the United States' national interests would be to achieve self-actualization. This theoretical principle can also be applied to domestic and other regional policies of the United States. In practical situations, the visible policies are political, economic and military relations.

2. Overview: The US, Korea and the Region

During the Korean War and the early period of Cold War, the United States was in a position of lender(giver) for South Korea and Japan. The United States was satisfied with a high level human motivation as a lender and also received a certain level of satisfaction as a receiver by defending against communist expansion by the former USSR and China during the Cold War.

Since the end of the Cold War, the US role is more balanced in terms of giver and receiver in relation to the Korean peninsula and the Northeast Asian region. South Korea has grown as an economic, political, diplomatic and military counterweight to the United States. China also has grown as an economic counterweight to the United States. This change will help China to open its closed system.¹⁷

¹⁷China with the biggest population of 1.2 billion annual trade with the United States has been growing recently, China's gross national product is one third the level of Japan; Richard J.

It is the most advanced economic power in the Northeast Asian region. During the Cold War the United States was mainly a giver in terms of Japan's national security. As a free rider in defense costs, Japan could grow quickly in economic terms. At present, Japan has grown as a competitive economic threat to the United States. Japan's trade surplus from the United States has been estimated to be about 60 billion dollars in 1993, which is 1% of the United States' gross national product.

Russia has changed from a closed system to open system. Economically, Russia is in a difficult situation in the short term, but in the long term it may show good results. In the present situation the United States is in a giver position toward Russia economically. In the framework of functional and human needs, the United States is a winner in Northeast Asia during the Cold War. But if we consider the human needs framework, we recognize that the Cold War was not completed. For example, during the Cold War period, a main US objective, democracy based on the open and free market, was not established. Using this criterion, only the confrontation between blocs was over but the main goal of global democratization was not completed.

Ellings and Edward A. Olsen, "Asia's challenge to American strategy, "(NBR analysis, June 1992) p.58, China's economy may even approach the size of Japan's by 2010-2015 it can sustain its momentum.

3. Future Opportunities

If during the Cold War period the United States' original goal was mainly national security (i.e., low level human needs) from the former USSR's expansionist threat, US goals on the Korean peninsula has almost been achieved. But if the United States has other objectives (i.e., a higher level of human needs), the United States will find further moral obligations in this region. For example, if the United States can maintain good domestic conditions, such as economic, political, social and military conditions, it will try to support infinitely Korean regional needs and other world needs. If the United States is not in good domestic condition, it will support Korea and other nations at a limited level. If the United States does not have any additional capability, it may not support Korea and the regional nations.

According to the human needs and functional frameworks, any country which has excess material capability or additional moral, spiritual obligation will try to support others to accomplish its motivational needs, i.e., political or social belongingness, self-esteem, self-actualization.

As a giver, the United States may have several choices regarding regional security: full support; limited support; and non-support. As a balanced giver and receiver,

the United States will get some benefit. For example, a unified Korea will maintain and improve its healthy economic, political, cultural, and military relations with the United States as an ally.¹⁸ The practical final outcomes of United States policies on the Korean peninsula are dependent on domestic US politics and on the external bilateral or multinational foreign relations of the United States within a political, social, cultural, economic, and military context.

During the Cold War the United States devoted many troops, supplies, defense resources, concerns, and policies to the Korean peninsula. Now many people say that the Cold War is over, and are reconsidering "what is the optimal level of involvement on the Korean peninsula of the United States"? To solve this problem we can ask "what are US needs and motivations in Korea"? In regard to historical relations or investment on the Korean peninsula, the United States' final motivation or goal in Korea is peaceful and democratic Korean reunification. The United States would be satisfied with the achievement based on self-actualization. But United States will still have some concerns in relation to the uncertainty on the Korean peninsula.

¹⁸ Lee Sang-Woo and others, *Tong Il Si Dae; The Times of Unification of the year 2000: Korean Unification Scenario*, (Seoul, Korea, Dong-A Il-Bo, 1993) pp. 96-97, Korean population was 65.3 million in 1991, and in a near future the population will grow up to 72 million in AD 2000, and 79 million in 2010 which is estimated the 11th population with 10th economic power in the world.

As a receiver, the United States will have optimistic anticipation through Korean unification, because Korea will become a more optimal economic unit as a US economic partner. Also, in terms of Korean cultural perception, Korea will not forget the United States' sacrifice and contribution over half a century in Korea, Korea will therefore remain a strong future friend of the United States. With success on the Korean peninsula, the United States will also be able to establish good relationships with other regional nations: China, Japan, Russia, and Southeast Asia and India. The United States cannot address the entire world in its effort to establish democracy. Therefore, the burden for democracy should be shared. Korea has received much from the United States and from the United Nations. Unified Korea will initiate democratization in cooperation with the United States. Korean's cooperation can be understood with ancient Chosen philosophy HONG IK IN GAN.

Unified Korea can also consider more positive factors in terms of human needs. Korea will need to consider both the optimistic and pessimistic impact of change in its international environment. In considering interdependent relations, Korea must prepare policy alternatives. If Korea can stay as a free rider position in terms of unification and regional security, it would be most efficient. Yet this would not be allowed among the Korean people due to their cultural

orientation.

B. JAPAN

Since World War II Japan has grown to superpower economic status, similar to unified Germany's, in the world economy. Because Japan has limited land and natural resources, its economic characteristics are interdependent with other nations. In its past experiences, Japan's expansionism is explained by geo-economically interdependent environmental factors. Japan's expansionism can be explained through the Korea-Japan War of 1592-1598, Ch'ing-Japan War of 1895, the Russo-Japan War of 1905, and the two World War engagements of the 20th century. After World War II, Japan's expansionism has been continued mainly by economic activities, not by military involvement. Japan's economic expansionism may be successful in terms of its economic motivation. In terms of the regional and global situations, Japan's expansionism can not be considered completely successful because of the unbalanced trade outcomes. With respect to its population and natural resources, Japan traditionally feels deficiencies of the basic human safety needs to establish a more secure resource-supplying environment. This motivation may accelerate Japan's economic expansionism infinitely.

In reality, Japan's recent economic growth through economic expansion was possible under the United States'

defense umbrella and a stable Korean confrontation between the Cold War blocs. During the Cold War period, while the United States and South Korea spent around 6% of their GNP because of the Cold War, Japan spent less than 1% of its GNP on defense. Geopolitically within the Northeast Asian regional security context, Japan should not be exception to the defense budget issue. But in reality Japan was a free rider in the Cold War context. After the Cold War was over, the United States did not feel a critical threat, as it did during the former Cold War situation. Northeast Asia, including Japan, needs to reconsider regional defense burden sharing questions and self-determination in the near future. Japan will probably feel more obligation for regional security in Asia. Recently Japan's peacekeeping participation in Cambodia and its increased contribution to the defense burden can be explained by these post-Cold War environmental changes.

Japan's choices on the Korean unification issue need to be considered within the regional environmental framework. Japan can consider several possibilities. Among the choices the general options would be 1) a continuation of the present South and North Korean confrontation, 2) a unification by South Korea and North Korea within the regional framework. An agreed paradigm on Korean unification would be a peaceful, incremental, functional approach. Generally speaking, among these possibilities, Korea will be able to choose one

alternative for Korean unification.

Japan can have a high level of moral motivation, for example, a sense of belongingness to international society, self-esteem, and self-actualization based on Japan's pride in its successful economic achievement. Japan may choose more a cooperative stance in relation to Korean reunification and regional obligations. But if Japan wants to stay at a lower level of human motivation and concentrate on economic safety, its choice will be limited to minimum cooperation with regional and global nations. I want to be optimistic in terms of Japan's cultural identity, because Japan has unique historical values combined with traditional Confucianism and the unique Japanese spirit. Therefore, Japan's choice will probably be the cooperative and creative, as one of the leading nations in the region and the global environment of the 21st century.

C. CHINA

Since the Korean War and during the Cold War period China had been a big obstacle to South Korea. But given the recent trends, South Korea does not feel such a threat from China. Since the Korean War, China has been aligned with North Korea. But in the recent cooperative economic environment, the relationship between South Korea and China has been

improving.¹⁹ Even though China still has not given up its North Korean security alliance, China's negative role on the Korean peninsula has been reduced. China's policy on the Korean peninsula may well be cooperative in the present and future. Even though China has not given up communism officially, in reality China has gradually undergone considerable transformation. But in terms of China's cultural bias based on Confucianism, it will not officially abandon communism. The original form of communism will disappear while the efficient capitalist, free market system flows into the Chinese market to replace the inefficient former communist economic system. Historically, the results of external invasions in China were absorbed by Chinese society. For example, the Yuan Emperor and the Ch'ing dynasty, which were derived from external invasions, was eventually absorbed into traditional Chinese culture. From this observation, communism will also not survive in China, but will be absorbed into China's long historical cultural identity. China will not ask North Korea and others to keep communism. North Korea will learn from Chinese behavior and will not ask South Korea and others to adopt communism. Based on this observation the

¹⁹ The Korean Statistics of 1991, (Korean Statistics Agency, 1992), Export and Import with China of South Korea; 1981:\$74.6 million, 1986:\$744.3 million, 1991:\$4,443 million. Based on this Economic environment South Korea and China established their full diplomatic relations in spring of 1991.

conflict over communism will not be continued in Korea and China. A new style of capitalism might be developed which is adaptive to Confucian philosophy.

With the Cold War over, the conflict between communism and capitalism is also over. The remaining obligation is how to guide the late communist nations of China and North Korea. China will not be an obstacle to Korean unification if there is no direct threat to the transitional Chinese system from nominal communism to practical capitalism within the Chinese cultural context. China will try to learn about free market economies from its neighbors such as Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and from the United States.

D. RUSSIA

The relationship between South Korea and Russia has improved very much since the end of the Cold War. With respect to its cultural orientation, Russia is more familiar with western culture and seems to belong to the western bloc.

Currently, Russia is concentrating on its own economic development. Russia will try to have good relations with South Korea, and in contrast to China, Russia will have closer relations with South Korea than North Korea. Russia's transition to political democracy and the free-market has been more explosive than China's, therefore, Russia's politics and economy have not been stable. In this situation, Russia will

try to get economic support from other regional or global nations. South Korea might be in a better situation than North Korea to assist in Russia's economic and political transition.²⁰ Russia also will have an opportunity to support Korean unification with its traditional higher level human motivation. During the Cold War period the former Soviet Union was the most difficult obstacle to South Korea. But in the post Cold War era Russia will affect South Korean unification policy positively by affecting political democratization and economic transformation in North Korea.

²⁰ *South Korean Statistics of 1991*, (Statistics Agency of Korea ,1992), trade trend between South Korea and Russia; 1981:\$11.4 million, 1986: \$803.0 million, 1991: \$1,246.6 million.

VI. LESSONS FROM OTHER REUNIFICATION CASES

After the 1988 Seoul Olympics, while Germany was in the process of reunification, many South Koreans believed they would experience a similar process. Since then many South Koreans have realized that the German situation is different from that of the Koreans. In 1989 and 1990, when North and South Yemen unified, some Korean people began to be concerned about Yemen, which was not familiar to the Korean people. Many South Koreans believed that Korean reunification would not come in the same way as the German or Yemeni cases. The general belief was that Korean unification would be accomplished through peaceful, incremental, and functional approaches.

A. GERMAN REUNIFICATION

1. *From West and East Germany to One Germany*

Germany was divided into East and West Germany in 1945 when World War II was concluded. After 45 years of confrontation, on the 3rd of October in 1990, the two Germanies achieved their reunification. With the Cold War over, the two Germanies took an independent position to determine their future among the Big Four nations frame-work of the US, British, France and the USSR. The East German people, who recognized that their communist system had not

been efficient in comparison to West German capitalism, gave up its communist system. It was difficult to anticipate such a fast German reunification. There have been many controversies concerning the road to German reunification in terms of economic, social, and political inefficiency. The West German people had to bear heavy economic and financial burdens of reunification. Because the East German people were not accustomed to the capitalist free market system, they forced a difficult transition process from communism to the capitalist system with psychological frustration and unemployment. Through the transition process they had to overcome many conflicts on the issues of equity and property ownership.²¹ The abrupt German reunification has contributed to Europe, to the world, and to Korea an exciting, hopeful future. By studying Germany's experiences, Korea will be able to learn the advantages and disadvantages for its own future reunification.

2. Applying the German Case to the Korean Peninsula

The German case is highly relative to the Korean situation. When the opportunity came, the German people accomplished their reunification very quickly with their

²¹In case of Korean Reunification Korea also will need to solve similar economic issue. In solving ownership issue of former land owner the Twenty First Century Committee is favoring a compensation policy by government than return to the former land owner (Tong-IL Si-Dae P.110).

accumulated historical self actualization and infinite energy, even though controversies over the cost of reunification remain. I think South and North Korea will have a similar experience. The difference between the two cases are the internal and external environments. For a lasting Korean reunification, South Korea must not act in haste because the Korean peninsula has been in a different situation from Germany's.

a. *The Similar Factors of Korea and Germany*

Among international environmental frame-works, both of the nations have been building their own unique culture, language, homogenous people, and pride through their historical development. Both nations experienced a painful national separation for a half century since World War II. Both nations' enthusiasm for their reunification was very strong. From the confrontation during the Cold War period, West Germany and South Korea could win over the other sides, East Germany and North Korea, with efficient economic and political systems.

b. *The Differences Between Korea and Germany*

Germany was a positive and offensive power during the first part of the 20th century. During the same period, on the contrary, Korea had to fight colonial domination. In this respect Germany had higher selfesteem and

the confidence to establish their unification than Korea. For Korea, it has taken several decades to escape from the colonialism complex and to re-establish selfesteem or self actualization energy. Koreans' readiness for reunification is not mature in comparison to the two Germanies.

Germany had not experienced a severe civil war between West and East Germany. But South and North Korea experienced a critical Korean War between the same people. This fact is a great obstacle on the road to Korean unification. As a result of the Korean War, the Korean peninsula has the most tense military situation in the world. Without reducing this military confrontation, peaceful unification will not be possible.

During the Cold War, Germany promoted mutual trust between the West and East. This positively affected unconditional reunification. South and North Korea have been trying to increase mutual relationships but it has not been helpful in improving mutual trust because of the deep pain of the Korean War.

In comparative terms, the German case was more defensive than the Korean situation, because Germany was responsible for causing the World War. The Korean peninsula does not have such an international weakness. Korea is in a

favorable position to reunify.²²

In terms of the economic, political, social and military situations, the two Germanies were in a better situation than Korea. For example, before its unification, West Germany had the highest trade surplus and was in a more stable situation politically than South Korea. In addition, the military confrontation was less tense.

In terms of historical national identity, Korea was similar to Germany, and its motivation is very high. But because of the 20th century's unfortunate experience on the Korean peninsula, unification has yet to be accomplished. Because of the different environment, Korea's economic capability, political and social stability, and mutual trust has not matured to the degree seen in Germany. But the global and regional environment is better than the German situation. For example, with the Cold War over and Germany unified, no one is in a negative position vis-a-vis Korean reunification. There are no veto powers in the UN and there are no veto powers in the region. This is the time to show traditional Korean self determination even though the economic, political and military situations are not matured to the German level. Even though German-style unification would not be efficient on

²² Rho Chan-Baek, *The Post Cold War National Unification*, pp. 108-109, Cold War end Korean Peninsula does not have any international obstacles.

the Korean peninsula, there will be a Korean-style reunification.

B. YEMENI REUNIFICATION

Socialist South Yemen and capitalist North Yemen accomplished their unification through peaceful negotiations. Yemen could achieve its unification without military conflict. Similar to the German case after the Cold War, the two Yemens accomplished their unification in 1990. This is a unique example. While Vietnam was unified by war, Yemen was unified without war. Germany was reunified by a one-sided absorption; Yemen was unified through careful negotiation. The Yemeni example shows the possibility that peaceful negotiations can solve very difficult political issues, including unification. But in view of recent trends in Yemen, the case shows the potential for negative unstable outcomes. From Yemen, we can learn that unification without accumulated social, economic and political integration may bring inefficient results, as the recent outbreak of civil war proves. A quick unification through negotiation would be difficult to achieve in Korea because the North maintains a one party political system which does not allow multiparty democracy. In contrast, South Korea has implemented a multiparty democratic political system which

cannot be a topic of negotiation. Therefore South Korea will be unable to choose this approach.²³

²³ Lee Sang-Woo, "Unification Scenario," *Tong-IL Si-Dae: The Times of Unification of the year 2000*, The Twenty First Century Committee, (Seoul, Korea: Dong-A IL Bo Sa, 1993). pp. 12, 33-35, Lee's opinion is also negative on the approach by an abrupt political negotiation without incremental functional approach because North Korea has been keeping a single political party system, contrast South Korea has applied a competitive democracy.

VII. KOREAN ALTERNATIVES

As an open system and a subsystem of the regional and global environments, the two Koreas will try to accomplish Korean reunification and thus contribute to regional and global security. As an open system Korean unification can be accomplished more efficiently with regional and global assistance. In discussing alternatives I will review: (a) general objectives of national, regional, and global perspectives based on human needs motivations, political processes and synthetic thought, (b) the need for continuous change in the post-Cold War context, (c) the efforts and trends for change on the Korean peninsula and throughout the region, (d) the need for cooperative efforts, (e) alternatives for Korean unification, and (g) perspectives on post-Korean unification.

A. GENERAL GOALS: NATIONAL, REGIONAL & GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

The 37th President of the United States of America Richard M. Nixon pursued four major goals in his foreign policy.²⁴ These were to establish peace, freedom, the free-market, and democracy throughout the world. Professor Edward A. Olsen says that "Americans pursue peace, stability,

²⁴ President Nixon stressed his major foreign policies in an interview with a CNN reporter Bernard Shaw at New York on 15th of January in 1992.

and prosperity in Asia," through his analysis of "Asia's Challenge to American Strategy."²⁵ Professor John Arquilla cited three factors in American Grand Strategy which are political democratization, economic marketization and military preponderance.²⁶ Former Secretary of State George Shultz stressed democracy and the free-market as the important factors in US foreign policy toward Russia in the post Cold War period. He also suggested that peace would be achieved by strength.²⁷ From these addresses, we can understand that America's essential foreign policy goals are peace, freedom, prosperity, and stability based on democracy, free-market and strength. These general goals can be applied to any country and any regional unit in the post-Cold War era.

According to Maslow's human needs model, the general goals of peace, freedom, prosperity, and democracy reflect higher level human needs. Any country or regional group in a difficult situation will concentrate on lower level human needs, such as specific economic or national safety. But they are in a good circumstances they will pursue more positively

²⁵ Richard J. Ellings and Edward A. Olsen, "Asia's Challenge To American Strategy," *NBR Analysis*, (The National Bureau of Asian Research, Vol. 3, No. 2, June 1992), p.13.

²⁶ Prof. John J. Arquilla, a lecture on Regional Security Course, Winter quarter, 1994.

²⁷ George Shultz the former Secretary of States of the United States of America, A Lecture on the US foreign policy at Johns Hopkins University, April, 1994.

the general goals of the higher level human needs based Maslow's human needs motivation model.

In reality, nations conduct their foreign or domestic policies not on the basis of theoretical or analytical methods, but rather on policies which are derived from domestic and international political processes. Therefore in a vulnerable political situation the outcomes of foreign policies will concentrate mainly on domestic economic benefits accrued. Alternatively in highly motivated countries, the outcome of political foreign policies achieve a higher level of human needs such as foreign support for peace, freedom and democracy based on moral historical obligation and national pride. In practical situations, political outcomes come from synthetic value judgements using qualitative and quantitative information analysis and a political decision-making process. Using the political decision process causes tremendous power struggling among the president, congress, people, news media, research group, and interest groups. If the participants' standards are high, the political outcomes will be of high the quality. But because sometimes the majority decisions made through normal political process can be imperfect, care should be taken in making decisions in any uncertain situations.

In the international framework the official decision makers are normally high level government groups. Representatives of any nation will consider national interest whenever they decide international issues. In these situations the decision makers should consider a comprehensive circumstance with a combination of human needs and national activities with low level domestic needs (i.e. to receive economic, military benefit) and also higher level national needs (i.e. to give foreign support in economic, military, political, social, cultural support for peace, freedom, democracy, and prosperity). In relation to this discussion, George Shultz's opinion will be helpful to understand synthetic foreign policies.²⁸ He stressed five key points to conduct foreign policies: a) Because domestic policy and foreign policy are interactive, we need to reorganize thinking methods to consider both sides; b) Diplomacy is not competing, it is compromising; c) To conduct foreign policies, we need to have global thinking because the whole world sees the behavior of foreign policies; d) We need to have vision, for example we need to know where we are now and where we are going; e) We need to be proud of America. I think Secretary Shultz's opinion explains well the importance of an open system approach as an example which considers the past, present, and

²⁸ Shultz, at the same lecture of Johns Hopkins University in April 1994, lectured the five key points.

future environmental context in order to achieve national or regional and global system objectives.

In the Korean context, South and North Korea, the United States of America, Russia, China, and Japan can participate as positive role players to solve the Korean and the Northeast and North Pacific regional issues. In this Korean context they can concentrate on their own economic or safety benefits, or they can consider mutual and multiple participants' future. It would be reasonable choice if the participants maximize mutual and multiple participants' benefits with a higher level of matured human needs motivation perspectives. Eventually focus on the higher level human needs will be helpful for all of the participants in terms of long range national and regional global perspective.

B. THE POST-COLD WAR ENVIRONMENT

In terms of the open system approach, whenever the environment changes the systems also need to change in order to survive, to develop, or to be balanced in the new environment. With the recent end of the Cold War, international political, economic, military and social contexts are achieving a new balance in regionally and globally. Countries have to change themselves to survive and to achieve their goals in the new world order.

Strategic planning is needed both regionally and

nationally to adapt to the post-Cold War period. These strategic plans can include visible, tangible, and official written documents and procedures, they can be implemented by an invisible, intangible, unintentional approach. This change can come through a regional level, national government level, or private business level. With the Global Cold War concluded, the global trends of democratization, free-marketization, political development, nonproliferation of nuclear arms, affect public and private sectors, politically, economically, socially, through governmental, regional and global levels. When the environment changes, every level of an organization will need to be changed to accommodate to new environment. As part of this change the Korean peninsula and the regional nations can not be the exception, they must change to survive and adapt to the new environment. In reality they have been adjusting to the environmental change. Korean and regional alternatives should be considered to survive and to adapt to the changing environment with the post-Cold War trend. If the national, regional, and global systems do not adjust to the changing environment they will not survive efficiently.

C. REGIONAL NATIONS AND THE CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

With the Cold War at an end, the two Koreas and the regional and global nations have been devoting themselves to

adapt to the changes. We can briefly review the changes in Korea and the regional nations.

1. **South Korea:** South Korea has developed new strategies to adapt itself to the new environment while the Cold War came to an end. For example, based on Korea's traditional cultural identity and strong relations with the United States, South Korea has accomplished its economic, and political development based on traditionally enthusiastic self-actualization motivation energy. South Korea has improved international relations with regional nations such as the former Soviet Union, the successor Russia, and China through Buck Bang Woe Gyo national grand strategy (which intended to open and improve international relations with north countries such as the former communist counties like the Soviet Union, China, Mongolia, and East Europe). This Buck Bang Woe Gyo culminated through the host activities of the 1986 Seoul Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. In preparation for the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games in particular, the South Korean Government made tremendous diplomatic efforts to invite all the communist bloc countries. With the exception of Cuba and North Korea, all countries participated in Seoul Olympic Games. As the host of the 1988 Olympic Games South Korean's feelings for the communist bloc peoples changed from antagonism to friendship. This new attitude toward communist countries enabled the Seoul Government to improve diplomatic relations with the former

Soviet Union, the main successor Russia, China, Hungary and the other former communist countries.

2. North Korea: North Korea has been a comparatively closed system. (Through this thesis discussion, as its relates to international relations, I am defining South and North Korea as a traditional and historically open system in pursuing one Korean system. During the unsolved Cold War period there are two Koreas.)

Throughout the ending of the Cold War and communists countries collapse, North Korea was in a vulnerable situation,--- North Koreas' government felt a kind of isolation and domino phenomena.²⁹ When South Korea achieved UN membership in September 1991, North Korea participated in the United Nations as an official member. North Korea did not have other choices from the isolation internationally. Recently North Korea has been involved in the nuclear issue. This might be the final card played by North Korea in order to survive from the changes in the era of the Cold War. The nuclear issue is a very different fundamental issue because it can threaten on all Korea's identity and regional or global security. Therefore a very cautious and sincere solution

²⁹ Richard J. Ellings and Edward A. Olsen, p. 96.

should be sought.³⁰

3. *Soviet Union and Russia*: With the Cold War ending the S.U. has become a key player in the economic free-market. The former Soviet Union and the main successor Russia established diplomatic relations with South Korea. Political, and economic relations have been improving private sector and public sector initiatives. Without war the former superpower is heading in a better direction. External relations for Russia should improve. Russia's smooth transition is most important issue in the world. Therefore there should be sincere global cooperation for Russia and the surrounding nations: the democratization and free marketization are not complete, consequently instability such as nuclear disarmament still exists in Russia and the surrounding area.

4. *China*: Since establishing diplomatic relations with the United States of America in 1972, China has been improving economic and political standards. Through the positive participation to the 1986 Seoul Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, China has been improving economic and political relationship with South Korea. In 1992 China and South Korea created full diplomatic relations. In essence, China changed to a new direction economically and politically from the

³⁰ Paul Bracken, "Nuclear Weapon and State Survival in North Korea," *Survival: The IISS quarterly*, Vol. 35/No.3, PP. 137-153, Autumn 1993, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ed. by Michael Brown, London:WC2E 7NQ.

former closed Cold War communists system to an economic free-market and political democracy. China is establishing an increasing market in the US and South Korea.³¹ China's contribution to the transition has been a large in relation to the Korean peninsula, Northeast Asia and North pacific region, and global context politically and economically.

5. *Japan*: Japan's contribution in relation to the Korean peninsula, and the Northeast Asia and North Pacific region has not been positive. In some sense historically Japan was a trouble maker by waging aggressive wars such as Chosen and Japan War in 1592-1598, Ch'ing and Japan War in 1894, Russia and Japan War of 1905, and Japan's aggression to Korea, China and Russia during the first half part of the 20th century. Since the end of World War II, Japan has been seen as a free-rider in relation to the Cold War. For example, while the Korean peninsula was engaging in the Korean War as part of the Cold War confrontation, Japan raised its economy in the wartime economy as the logistic basement of the Korean War. During the Cold War period while the Korean peninsula was involved with a heavy defense burden, Japan engaged mainly in its economic development.

³¹By Clinton administration (President's address, May 1994) recent China's annual export volume to the USA was 30 billion dollars.

Recent global and regional changes have been enforcing Japan's positive contributions regionally and globally. For example, because of the diminishing threat from Russia and China the United States of America does not feel the need to maintain such a heavy defensive line as it had during the Cold War period.³² The regional nations need to share the burden of security (in terms of Maslow's lower level human needs concept) and further more regional and global development burden (in terms of Maslow's higher level human needs concept). In relation to this argument Japan has been changing its role by sharing the Gulf War cost of 10.1 billion dollars, by sharing defense expenses with the allied nations, and by participating in peace keeping operations in Cambodia.³³ In respect to Japan's advanced economic development, there should be more positive role playing by Japan in contributing to stable world and regional trade balances, and contributing to balanced mutual and multi-national economic development. Japan should be positive participant in APEC. In relation to the Korean unification

³²Richard J. Ellings and Edward A. Olsen P.6, The authors say that the effect of future war would be regional. As the Northeast Asian Regional nations Japan and Korea may need to share obligations for regional security.

³³ Terasawa, Katsuaki L. and William R. Gates, "Burden-Sharing in the Persian Gulf:Lessons Learned and Implications for the Future," *Defense Analysis*. Vol. 9. No. 2. 171-195. 1993, Printed in Great Britain; Ellings and Olsen, P. 14, The US expect burden sharing from Japan will be 17 billion dollars between 1991-1995.

issue, we can anticipate Japan's positive influence to open and to develop North Korea's economy. Economic development through freemarket is one of the key factors in democratically politically and bureaucratically, China is a recent example.

6. *The United States of America*: The United States of America, as a super power regionally and globally, has been playing positive roles in relation to the Korean issue and the Northeast Asia and North Pacific region issues since 1945. In respect to the Grand US Strategy for peace, freedom, prosperity through free-market, democracy and strength are based on Maslow's higher level self-actualization. the US has been performing its roles successfully in the Korean peninsula and toward the regional nations China, Russia, and Japan.

In relation to Korean peninsula the United States of America has been contributing its Grand Strategy by supporting South Korea from the communist threat through the Korean War support and Cold War confrontation, and by supporting political, economic and social development of South Korea. Nowadays the one important factor of South Korea's prominent success in economically, politically and culturally would be the combined result of the USA and South Korea's effort based on the USA's sincere support and South Korea's effort to accomplish the both sides' self-actualization in terms of national and people's needs motivation.

In relation to China the US supported to improve China's national sovereignty by establishing diplomatic relations in 1972, and the US supported China's economic development by increasing mutual trade. Through economic development and through the market system China has been changing its substantial economic system from closed system to economic market system. This economic change in China will lead a change of political and bureaucratic systems toward democracy. In relation to human rights issue in China, which was raised by the US diplomacy and by other UN member countries since Tiananmen incident of 1989, China might be very cautious in solving the issue.³⁴ This China's attitude would mean the China's political and bureaucratic democratization. This political change also will be the US's contribution in the region and China to accomplish human goals which would be also the US's grand strategic goals based on the US pride or the higher level human motivations such as peace, freedom, prosperity through economical free-market, political democracy, and national strength.

Since President Nixon's diplomatic approach to China, the United States have supported to change the China's economic, and political trend toward free-market and democracy. Now and

³⁴The Characteristics of China's change in economical, political and bureaucratic aspects would be incremental change basis on her Confucian cultural behavior. We can call it "moderate middle approach." "Joong-Yong Sa Sang".

in future China would join more positively to improve regional and global economic and political development. China may will contribute future society with its traditional people's pride based on its Confucian cultural assets.

In relation to the former Soviet Union and Russia the US has been contributing Russia's transition process with the USA's diplomatic, economic, political support. Without any critical wars the USA has been contributing to Russia's free-marketization economically, democratization politically, and further more eventually the US might help denuclearization of Russia and surrounding nations. Present changing process in Russia is very important stage in the 20th century's world history, because this change means a fundamental change from a huge threat to establishing world peace of the world society. During the Russian' political, economical changing context, South Korea based on its Buck-Bang Weo-Gyo could establish diplomatic relations with the former Soviet Union and its successors Russia, Ukraine and others. As an environmental factor we can understand that the US has been contributing in normalizing South Korea and Russia relations.

In respect of Korean peninsula, regional and global context, the US role in Russia has not been completed still. The Korean peninsula's Cold War is not completed without Korean unification. And the Korean issue still connected in the regional political and military context. In relation to

solving Korean issue, a better diplomatic relations between Russia and the US will support to solve Korean issue. And through the Russia's transition process Russia does not use efficiently its high skilled and advanced human resources. For Russia's efficient transition without incident nuclear threat of military conflict the US's remaining role in Russia would be to help the Russia's efficient and effective change.³⁵ This sincere approach of the US will help the Korean unification and the regional security.

In perspective of the Korean peninsula and Northeast Asian region, the United States' effort was successful, South Korea's economic and political development, Russia, China's economic and political changing, Japan's economic development were the aspects of the US's grand strategy to establish peace, freedom, prosperity through free-market and democracy surround the world. The result were also the other aspect of the US's pride based on the US's historical identity and self-actualization higher level human needs motivation. But still the US's pride and moral obligation would not completed in the Korean context through the Korean peninsula and the surrounding region. Maybe this is the more important time than any other period to accomplish the US's grand strategy, and

³⁵The recent unstable trend in the East Europe countries such as Ukraine, Hungary, Checkoslovakia in relation to the resistance of the former communist parties ask for the free world countries to contribute more sincere efforts.

the region and the world's higher level human needs or goals.

D. COMMON EFFORTS TO SOLVE KOREAN AND REGIONAL ISSUES

The US's grand strategy of the US in foreign policy has been based on the pursuit of peace, freedom, prosperity, democracy, and the free-market through a position of strength. These are also common global goals in the post Cold War period. To achieve these general goals worldwide, we need to devote common effort. Future society cannot depend entirely on one superpower or several nations. Without the Cold War future society will be more diverse, both regionally and globally. Security, economic prosperity, and political and social development will depend more on regional participation. In the short terms global and regional society will experience an explosion of diverse human needs which were unattainable in the authoritarian Cold War context. Recent trends such as the Soviet Union's collapse into multiple national units, German and Yemeni unification, South Africa democratization, the Somali and Bosnian cases, and North Korea's extreme internal control can be understood as the responses to the end of the post-Cold War. These explosive conditions can be destructive if the related national, regional and global systems are unable to adapt.

This new global context requires that contributions are based on common efforts strategy. In this global context

nations need to pursue their individual national goals. For example, the Korean peninsula will now make more of effort to achieve unification than at any other time. South Korea will take positive steps to achieve unification, in contrast, North Korea will be more defensive and passive because recent trends are not in their. China has already started down the road of free-marketization and democratization. Russia has also begun a similar transformation. Japan has maintained a threatening position with its huge trade surplus.³⁶ The United States has been what would its goals would be in the post-Cold War period.

From this point of view the post-Cold War demands will be explosive. Repressed human needs will arise at the intra national, national and regional levels. This will have a domino effect at the international level. In the new environment the US as the only a comprehensive superpower, cannot supply all the solutions and resources. The US can play a selective role with limited resources; regional nations need to play their own roles in a given situations. The US and the UN can serve to mediate tensions in the explosive future situation.

Korean unification reflects the explosion of the human

³⁶Japan annual trade surplus toward South Korea was \$9 billion in 1991. (Korean Statistics Agency, 1992) and toward the USA \$60 billion in 1993.

needs. The two Koreas need to be cautious and sincere if they wish to solve and manage the problem. Since Korea was one nation through 1945, it is clear that the unification issue will be a very explosive issue in the near future. In any event, hinge upon the general human goals of peace, freedom, democracy, and the free-market. But if the unification is achieved through war and absorption there will be tremendous inefficiency and sacrifice. An inefficient Korean unification will be perceived as a deep failure among the regional nations. We need to identify common goals and devote common efforts. The regional nations are no longer in a competitive situation. They will compromise and be cooperative based on recognition of human dignity and national sovereignty. The traditional tactical maneuvering between individual national interests will be inefficient in the future situation. We need to create more substantial fundamental value and strategies to accomplish common human goals.

E. KOREAN ALTERNATIVES

As a historical open system the Korean peninsula has pursued its unification to achieve a complete unified national system. As an unified open system Korea will contribute more positively to its national future and common regional and global goals based on its cultural identity expressed in the philosophy HONG IK IN GAN. This philosophical doctrine will

be in accord with more general human goals, such as peace, freedom, prosperity through the free market and democracy, based on honest national strength. This doctrine and the general goals associated within reflect Maslow's higher level of human needs. These activities can be understood as comprising Korea's national interest. The specific activities will be visible not only in economic and military interests, but they will also include political and social-cultural factors. These are Korea's traditional higher level motivations and its spiritual value system with Confucianism as a cultural base. Within this framework and in the context regional and global goals, Korean unification will be accomplished.

In this context we can specify the details of unification, the role players, and various scenarios on the road to Korean unity.

1. *Common Goals of Unification*

Korean unification will help the Korean peninsula and the region to establish peace, freedom, and prosperity through open free-markets and democracy. These general goals match those of post Cold War ~~today~~. If the Korean unification process does not help Korea to achieve these general goals it will not be the ~~type~~ of unification intended.

Korean unification will result in a single national system. In economic terms the unified Korea will have an efficient and competitive free-market system. Politically, the unified Korea will be democratic. In the unified Korea will also rearrange its traditional cultural values and incorporate healthy regional and global values. In military terms the unified Korea will maintain a minimum level of mobilization to guarantee the internal security of the peninsula and contribute regional and global security. The peninsula's military has been over-laden as one aspect of its status as a major theater of operations in the Cold War.

A unified Korea will achieve peace and prosperity and will contribute to improve regional and global security.

2. Primary Protagonists

The main role players will be South Korea and North Korea. The regional nations of the United States of America, China, Russia and Japan will be able to assist in the unification process through their economic, diplomatic, political and socio-cultural support. If there is irrational behavior on behalf of North Korean forces, the United Nations and the United States of America will help defuse tensions.

During the Cold War period the possibility of Korean unification was very weak. Korean unification is a very real

possibility.³⁷ The official role players in unification efforts are South and North Korea's governments. But in practical terms the role players are South and North Korea's people who can exert political pressure. If both governments play insincere roles and do not lead efficiently, the people's energy will explode. Therefore the contemporary period is the most critical time rather than the Cold War period. Historically Korean people's collective power has exploded in critical situations. For example, when the dynasty of China controlled the ancient Kochoson territory through its aggression in B.C. 109, the surrounding Korean people defeated Han's domination. In 1592 Japan's forces came to Chosen when Chosen government forces could not repulse the Japan attack, with voluntary organizations formed the main power to defeat Japan's military through a seven-year war. While Japan colonialism continued for 35 years under a strong police system. Police were armed with modern weapons, but the Korean people resisted Japan's military domination and eventually achieved Korean independence. While authoritarian governments and military government continued in South Korea, the South Korean people resisted the government. In reality the present democratic government was built by the people's

³⁷The Twenty First Century Committee, pp. 6-7,; Now is the time to discuss and prepare unification with a possibility not with the illusion.

integrated energy.³⁸ As a region of extreme tensions Cold War, the political democratization of Korea was not easy, but the South Korean people achieved democratization. Even though North Korea, which has established a unique authoritarian political system, has still not achieving political democratization. In respect to traditional Korean values, attitudes and behavior in the face of irrationality, it is easy to anticipate North Korean popular action. When the North Korean people recognize their real situation and understand the differences between the two systems, they will resist the irrational authoritarian political structure. This explosive process may already have started,³⁹ therefore the Korean unification issue is at an extremely critical stage. If we see the unsolved nuclear issue within this critical context, we can understand the reason why it has not been solved. Because the North Korean government knows the people's power of resistance they are manipulating the people with nuclear issues.

From this review we can see that the two Korea's practical unification energy exists among the people. Because

³⁸The students' and people's demonstrations of April 1960 and June 1987 were the causes of present South Korean political democracy.

³⁹North Korean students who had been studying in foreign countries and North Korean labors who had been working in Siberia started to rush into South Korea. These facts will stimulate North Korean transition toward democracy and unification.

sometimes the people's energy has been explosive and can lead inefficient results with destructive energy, the South and North Korean government should prepare to channel popular energy into reasonable directions and efficient outcomes.

The South Korean government and people have succeeded in their economic and political development. South Koreans have the capability to accomplish the unification of the peninsula. Although North Korea remains in a difficult situation since the end of the Cold War, South Korea is well prepared for Korean unification. Korea's future will be positive for the Korean people and for the world in general.

3. Scenarios for Unification

We can think about various scenarios to achieve Korean unification. Unification can be achieved: a) through a second Korean War initiated by either South or North Korea, b) through direct negotiations between South and North Korea, or through regional and the UN involvement hosted by South and North Korea, c) a peaceful absorption by South Korea or by North Korea, d) through functional incremental steps which involve economic, social-cultural, military, and political cooperation.⁴⁰

a. A Second Korean War

A Second Korean War would ravage the Korean

⁴⁰The Twenty First century pp. 29-47; Yang Ho-Min, pp. 191-197.

peninsula. We need to prevent incidents triggered by human misjudgment. Human decisions are not always correct, effective or efficient. Sometimes humans can make terrible mistakes. One example of this was the Korean War between June 1950 and July 1953. Through the Korean War 2 million of people were killed and most of the Korean peninsula was completely destroyed through the War. This was an unhappy incident triggered by the combined misjudgment of North Korea and the former Soviet Union. The weapon systems of the Korean War were the conventional guns and tanks that had been used during World War II. The weapon systems of modern South and North Korea are much more advanced than these used in the Korean War of 1950-1953. If there is a second Korean War it will be a war of mass destruction. Clearly it is not the optimal path to unification.

The Korean peninsula was formerly one national unit, one homogeneous people with one social-cultural identity. People on both sides have around ten million direct relatives who are parents, sons and daughters, uncles and aunt, grand or grand-grand fathers and mothers.⁴¹ They do not want to kill each other. Many of them are enthusiastic to meet one another. Even though some people do not have direct

⁴¹The Twentieth Century Committee, p. 107; Even though masscom says that there are 10 million people who has been separated since Korean war, the number might be exaggerated.

relatives over the border they like the others because among the people there are no emotional antagonisms. On both sides the main motivation to achieve unification is to help to save the others and to live together.⁴² The only obstacle is the Northern regime's resistance to change from the former communists system to political democracy and the market system to achieve peace, freedom and prosperity. The Korean War was the only mass destructive incident result in fratricide in Korean history. Therefore South and North Korea will not intend to have a second Korean War.

There is an incidental possibility of the initiation of a second Korean War by North Korea's authoritarian autocratic government. North Korea's government is isolated from its people. The ruling group has not changed, and they have kept their power for a half century since 1945. The ruling group will not want to lose the privileges which they have enjoyed since 1945. Therefore if the ruling group of North Korea meets denies the peoples' desire, for democratization some might choose extreme resistance with dangerous weapons. But the result would be democratization with the combined deterrence of South Korea and environmental support from the Northeast and North Pacific

⁴²Ibid., pp., 153-154; The ideal unification is to achieve Win-Win system by incremental approach.

regional nations and the UN.⁴³

During the Cold War North Korea has prepared to defeat the South Korean system. But since the Soviet Union's collapse and German unification with democratization, North Korea's ruling group, who has been enjoying privileges since the regime was established in 1945, is presently in a critical position. The nuclear issue can be understood in this context. Therefore to prevent an accidental war and achieve a peaceful unification, South Korea and other role players need to consider these environmental circumstances sincerely and sympathetically.

b. Unification by Absorption

We can consider a unification by absorption by South Korea such as occurred in Germany. Many South and North Koreans anticipate the possibility of unification by absorption because the environmental situation of Korea is similar to that of Germany in terms of economics, politics, and social-cultural factors. In the post-Cold War context a unification through absorption by North Korea is not possible. But as long as the behavioral attitudes of North Korea's

⁴³Simon Winchester, *Pacific Nightmare; A Third World War in the Far East*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1992); Dupuy T.N. "The Second Korean War" (NY: Time Warner, 1992). The Twenty First Century Committee, P. 27,34; Ellings & Olsen, P.6.

ruling group does not change,⁴ an abrupt unification through absorption by South Korea will be a dangerous approach because North Korea maintains a heavy destructive and chemical weapons arsenal. Because of the Korean War, North Korea's ruling group, who had participated in the war and who still have political and military power as a ruling group, will worry about their future. Therefore the possibility of extreme resistance through incidental war is very high. But if there is an internal power struggle, younger government or military officials will accept unification through absorption by the South if it is done in a peaceful way. But if this case comes about abruptly without South Korea's preparation, the results will be inefficient.

c. *Incremental Unification*

Through the post-Cold War process of change, political, economic, and socio-cultural struggles have increased at a global level. As examples, we can see Russia's unstable politics and economy, Bosnia's unsolved problems resulting in tens of thousands of killings, Germany's post-unification management, South Africa's democratization, China's human rights issue and, Rwanda's incident with hundreds of thousands of killing in a few weeks in April 1994.

⁴North Korea's attitude has not been sincere through South and North dialogues or through international relations, we can see the examples from the Nuclear issue.

The goals in these countries are all generally agreed human goals: peace, freedom, and democracy. The UN and the regional or national efforts to manage the post Cold War problems are not credible. To achieve Korean unification we need to manage these explosive trends.

Unification through War and absorption are inefficient approaches. There is an agreed general consensus in Korea, as well as regionally are globally, which is an incremental and functional approach. This approach will look like it is very slow, but it will be the efficient approach.⁴⁵

For the functional approach we can consider economic, socio-cultural, political and military functions. These functions can be considered in combination with the human motivation hierarchy of Maslow. These should also be considered in relation to South and North Korea's national and regional context. Establishing mutual trust between South and North Korea will be a most important factor on the road to peaceful unification. South and North Korea's two systems need to be closer economically, socio-culturally, military and politically. The two Koreas should also devote their efforts to improving regional trust. Based on mutual trust, a balanced functional system, and improved regional security, the two Koreas will be able to accomplish one unified national

⁴⁵The Twenty First Committee, P. 36, of South Korean specialist on this issue are favour of incremental approach.

system.

To improve mutual trust between South and North Korea, the Korean people need to devote sincere efforts. They need to reconsider the Korean situation in terms of historical aspects and world trends after the Cold War. Because of the obligation to achieve Korean unification they should devote their effort more sincerely. For this purpose they need to eliminate all the obstacles on the road to unification. They should forgive and understand each other's faults. And they should try to respect and help each other in a constructive manner. To achieve these basic criteria for unification efforts should be made on both sides, through sincere official dialogues at the governmental level and social and economic cooperation based on both sides' respect for national sovereignty.

To accelerate both sides' sincere effort for unification, people on both sides, should devote their efforts within their stable national contexts. Government negotiators should recognize more clearly their historical obligations. They need to guide people's efforts and energy on the road to unification. And they should develop more positively the short range and long range strategic programs to accomplish unification. Korean unification can not be a Win-Lose game, it should be Win-Win game, therefore they will need only honest and sincere dialogue and contributions for the benefit of both

sides. Their honest and sincere efforts will be recorded by historians of the next generation's. Guided through official dialogue between South and North and supported by people's will and enthusiasm, economic, and socio-cultural efforts should be followed to achieve a balanced system.

(1) Economic Balance: To achieve economic balance, we can consider economic needs in the political socio-cultural context. North Korea has been maintaining a social economic system which now is known as an inefficient system globally through the examples of Russia, Germany, China, and Eastern Europe. Therefore the North Korean people need to recognize frankly and sincerely the efficiency of the market system and they need to change their economic system to prepare for unification.

In relation to North Korea's economic transition, South Korea need to consider how to improve economic equity and social welfare. North Korea should also recognize that without marketization there will not be economic, social equity and welfare, without economic marketization there will forever be poverty.

To improve North Korea's economy the South Korean government should develop a strategic long range plan based on the South Korean people's support and ideas. The South Korean government and corporations should consider North Korea's economic transitional change and benefit rather than

short term benefit for South Korea. Individual corporations will choose their action based on the profit concept. In this case the South Korean government can provide financial support within its grand strategy to help North Korea's transition. The regional nations will be able to participate by supporting North Korea's economic transition. In this regional situation the individual corporation will participate in the market to get profit. In this situation the South Korean government and corporations should not be sensitive, but they should support regional corporations to achieve a cooperative economic environment for North Korea, because such an environment will be positive in the grand strategic context.

(2) *Socio-Cultural Balance*: Socio-culturally South and North Korea have developed within the long range Korean historical context. Therefore most of their social and cultural characteristics are the same or similar. As one example only South and North Korea use the Han-gal alphabet officially. Many people say that through the Cold War confrontation the two Korea's values, behaviors, attitudes have changed dramatically. This is correct but there is an invisible cultural homogeneity which has developed through their 5000 history as the same cultural group. To reestablish socio-cultural relations the South and North Korean government should develop a grand strategy based on historical

obligations, mutual benefit and trust.

Socio-cultural contacts also need to be opened to North Korea regionally and globally. In South Korea, through 1986 the Seoul Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympic Games South Korea improved cultural, political and economic relations with almost all of the global nations. If North Korea host the Asian Games, an Olympic Games, frequent international sports event and South & North sports games, it will be helpful to open North Korea's society constructively.

Korea is culturally a very rich nation. Due to the Cold War confrontation, the two Koreas did not stress their own cultural issues. Therefore on the road to Korean unification Korea should reestablish cultural pride on both sides. The contemporary world is in moral, cultural, and spiritual chaos. Cultural pride should not be a basis for isolated egoism; it should be shared regionally and globally. To improve cultural assets with neighbor nations the nation should establish economic, social and political strength. For example, during the economic industrialization period western culture was dominant. And since Japan's economy grew globally Japan's culture has been introduced globally. Compared to the Chinese case, few people wanted to learn Chinese culture; they would rather learn Japanese culture. In my opinion China's cultural superiority would be a tremendous asset. Korean culture not the same as that of China and Japan, A unified

Korea will be able to contribute to regional and global cultural development. Therefore through an efficient Korean unification process Korea will be able to contribute to the region and to the world. Cultural characteristics can affect people's future. For example because the German people have cultural assets and pride they achieved their unification when the opportunity was presented. If Korea really has cultural excellence they will achieve their unification more efficiently. I am very optimistic about the cultural approach on the road to unification.

(3) Military Balance: Military balance will be very important to achieve a stable Korean unification⁴⁶ and to preserve regional security. South and North Korea will need to prevent a second Korean War which would bring tremendous sacrifice. And they will also need military balance to achieve a peaceful unification without using it. Military balance also will be an important issue in the regional balance of power. To reestablish Koreas historical capability for self-actualization, and to contribute to regional and global security, the two Korea's need to save their collective energy. For this purpose they can save and balance the economic, social and cultural energy. Following the same objective they should reduce defense burdens which

⁴⁶The Twenty First Century Committee, pp. 156-176.

have wasted South and North Korea's total economic and social energy. Present world trends point to reductions in defense spending. The two Koreas should consider similar reductions in defense spending to achieve economic benefits and to contribute to regional security.

(4) *Political Approach:* For better economic, socio-cultural, and military relations South and North Korea, need to negotiate. This approach can be termed the political approach. In this respect political approaches dominate all other functional approaches. Therefore, all the stages on the road to unification will include a political approach. But if there is only a political approach, Korean unification will not be easy. Without economic, socio-cultural, and military cooperation, mutual trust will not be established and there will be many conflicts over functional issues. When all other functional approaches are established, political integration will be achieved and Korean unification will be completed. The new unified Korea will contribute regionally and globally based on its integrated economic, socio-cultural and political, and moral systems.

F. PERSPECTIVES OF POST KOREAN UNIFICATION

We can think about several possibilities for a reunified Korean future within the open system context. Even though through a functional approach for Korean unification South and

North Korea will be able to achieve economic, cultural, military and political change to a certain level, a unified Korea will have many more issues to consider.

1. Economic Perspectives

Unified Korea will need to consider a strategic approach to maximize economic effectiveness and efficiency within an open and competitive free market framework. The unified Korean government will need to develop both short term and long range economic strategies and goals. For example, in the short term, the unified government will need to establish a balanced income distribution policy between the South and North Korean people by developing an economic transition plan. In the long range, the unified Korean government will need to establish an overall nationwide economic development plan. This plan should consider economic development of within the Northeast Asian and Pacific regional and global economic environments. And the unified Korean government will need to consider the role of internal and regional corporations in the unified Korean economic market. They should operate within competitive market principles and contribute to Korea's economic development.

A unified Korean economy will enable a more optimistic economic system. For example, after Korean unification the total population of the Korean peninsula will

be around 70 million.⁴⁷ This population level will be an attractive consumer group for domestic market and international market incentives. Even though North Koreans are not familiar with market economy, but because South Korean businesses are well accustomed to competitive market economy through their economic development of the past few decades, within the unified Korean economic system North Koreans will be able to learn the new economy through the transition process from the former economic system to a new economic system.

Externally, unified Korea will be able to contribute to regional and global economic and political transition. For example, through the economic transition process in China and Russia, they will be able to apply lessons from the Korean case. This will also accelerate China's and Russia's political development. Since the end of the Cold War South Korea has effected China and Russia's economic and political development, a successful Korean unification and economic transition will give China and Russia a more confident example for their positive economic change.

A unified Korea will have positive economic effects on the United States of America and Japan. During the Cold

⁴⁷ In 1991 Korean total population was 65.3 million; South Korea 43.3 million and North Korea 22.0 million. And it is anticipated that Korean peninsula will have 70.2 million population in 2000 and 79 million in 2010.

War period South Korea developed economically at a fast rate. Some of the reasons were the positive economic relations between the two countries. And as a result South Korea's success might positively influence China and Russia's economic and political changes. A unified Korea will be a good market for the economies of the USA and Japan.⁴⁸ Eventually a successful transition of the unified Korean economy will improve the economic environment of the entire North Pacific region. For example, traditionally South Korea has been positive in regional economic cooperation through its free trade policies and a positive participation APEC.⁴⁹

2. Social-cultural perspectives

In terms of social-cultural perspectives, unified Korea will need to have a grand rehabilitation plan to establish its social cultural identities. For almost one hundred years, Korea has been in a very difficult situation to sustain its own social cultural identities. Through the colonial period, the Korean War, and the Cold War period South

⁴⁸ South Korean import and export of 1991 (Statistic Agency 1992, Seoul, Korea), to the USA import was 25.8% and export was 23.2% of her total annual import and export, to the Japan it was 17.2% and 25.6%.

⁴⁹ South Korean government has been keeping open market competitive free market policy as her main economic policy. President Kim's positive participation to APEC can be understood in relation to this consistent economy policy. And after Korean unification economy policy will be able to be sustained on the same principle.

and North Korea were unable to concentrate effectively to maintain and improve their social-cultural identities. Because they had to concentrate to get independence and minimize the Cold War confrontation, they have not had the opportunity to recover their social-cultural identities. Therefore after Korean unification there will be a nationwide movement to establish a social-cultural identity. Through a cultural rehabilitation process the Korean people will reestablish their socio-cultural identities. Eventually they will be able to recover a substantial basis for self-actualization and development energy nationwide.

3. Military Perspectives

Military factors will be a very important factor through in the unification process and post unification period. Based on economic, social-cultural and political approaches for Korean unification, the Korean peninsula will be able to reestablish mutual trust, and will be able to reduce military confrontation to a certain level. Through this effort unified Korea will need to maintain an optimal military size. This would be a sensitive factor in the regional security environment. Traditionally Korea was not an aggressive nation to neighboring nations: therefore a unified Korea will need a minimum force level to protect itself. Korea will be able to maintain a certain level of reserved

military forces to participate in contingency situations such as the peacekeeping operations of the United States. Traditionally the Korean military has been cooperative in external international affairs. For example, South Korea participated with allied nations in the Gulf War crisis and has participated in the Somalia case constructively.⁵⁰ In these respects a unified Korea will participate positively to improve peace and democracy both regionally and globally.

4. Political Perspectives

Based on the internal economic, social-cultural and military stability of the Korean peninsula, and external cooperation, a unified Korea will be able to perform political functions effectively. Internally, a unified Korea will establish peace and prosperity through political democracy and an open market economy. Because the South Korean people have been accustomed to a developed political democracy, in the new system of a unified Korea the original South Korea will not have any problems politically. North Korea, however, has been accustomed to the authoritarian political system, and after unification North Korea will need to learn political

⁵⁰ Since July 1993 South Korea has delegated engineering battalion as peace keeping forces to Somalia. This PKG forces has been performing successful obligation in Somalia, as a unique case they has been constructing a road in Somalia. This case can be explained in terms of Korean cultural aspect such as HONG IK IN GAN philosophy which has been intended to improve human dignity and welfare.

democracy. Through a political transition process the neighboring nation of China will also be able to learn lessons from the Korean transition.

I discussed the post-Korean unification in economic, social-cultural, military and political perspectives. Those will not come to us separately, but they will come to us all together. Therefore we need to consider synthetically all aspects. In considering the Korean perspective we need to keep in mind the substantial basis of Korean alternatives which would be Korean's traditional cultural identity, HONG IK IN GAN.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Individuals, organizations, and nations will not survive and develop in a situation isolated from the fast changing regional and global environment. Whenever the environmental circumstances change, the subsystems should accommodate themselves within the environmental framework. The Cold War is over; global and regional political, economic, social, and military environments are changing. Within this fast environment Germany and Yemen transformed themselves from separate nations to unified nations to survive, and to contribute for themselves and for others. The Korean peninsula and the surrounding region are not exceptions to this changing international environment. Using an open system approach, the Korean peninsula's reunification and its regional security will be accomplished through the national and regional policy choices based on human needs motivation, national and regional needs, interests, and security.

In relation to the Korean peninsula, Northeast Asia and the North Pacific area nations (China, Japan, Russia, and the United States) will play their role as regional members. Historically, these components have been engaged in the regional issues. They will probably continue to have bilateral and multilateral relationships as regional subsystems. In this environmental framework, what are the

better alternatives, policy choices, opportunities for Korean unification and regional security? To answer those questions I have discussed a framework using the system approach as an analytical tool, and presented a historical overview, of regional relations among subsystems, the opportunities for regional members and the alternatives for Korean unification.

Traditionally Korea was one country, and it needs to reunify for itself, and for regional and global security. South and North Korea maintained a common identity through their long history, and they have also created different subsystem values since the Cold War. The game between capitalism and communism may be over now that the Cold War is over, but there are remaining unsolved conflicts in North Korea and possibly in China. In accord with world trends China and North Korea's original communism may disappear by themselves. The Korean alternatives should be achieved without sacrifice. Among the remaining issues, Korean unification is critical. From the various alternatives for Korean unification, the best approach will be an incremental functional approach --based on human needs motivations, economic cooperation, socio-cultural integration, military reduction, and constructive mutual trust. A political approach will be needed on the road to Korean unification using a cooperative environment. For further improvements in regional security, comprehensive bilateral and multilateral

comprehensive cooperation should be pursued by regional system members, the UN, and the global community.

The USA, China, Japan, and Russia have constituted the external environment in relation to Korean issues. These regional nations will have certain opportunities within the regional context. The opportunities can be analyzed by the motivation and activity concept. In terms of human need motivation the common global grand goals of human beings would be to achieve peace, freedom and prosperity through political democracy and economic open market economies.

Based on these grand goals, every nation -- Korea, the USA, China, Japan and Russia -- will pursue their own sub goals. For example, the South and North Korean people will have a strong motivation to achieve their unification because historically they were one single national system. Since the end of the Cold War there are practically no severe external obstacles on the road of unification. Especially because of German unification many Koreans have felt a strong historical obligations to achieve their unification. Many Koreans believe that they are now on the verge of their national reunification in historical perspective. Today or tomorrow North Korea will be changed internally within the global and regional environmental context. The cohesiveness of the people can result from a decisive decision to achieve unification. In the critical and changing environment of the

post-Cold War World the South and North Korean governments will be very busy to control the people's cohesive or explosive energy. In this changing environment the North Korean government will have to be more sincere because North Korean society might be far behind from the global trend which can be characterized as a trend of political democracy and economic marketization. But South Korea will also face difficulties because of the explosion of people's anticipated needs.

Among the nations most concerned with the Korean peninsula the USA will be the most effective nation toward Korean unification and the regional stability basis on her grand strategy which would be the same as its global trends: peace, freedom, prosperity through political democracy and the open market.

China will also be able to devote a reliable cooperative role toward Korean unification and regional security. China will agree to global trends toward political democracy and economic marketization.

Even though there has been a certain level of uncomfortable emotions remaining between Korea and Japan. But because of her majestic economic power and cultural pride, Japan will participate more positively toward Korean unification and constructive regional issues.

Russia, because of her fast changing domestic situation,

will have positive economic and political relations with Korea and the regional nations, and will support regional issues and the Korean issue constructively.

We can see the potential of explosive human needs conflicts on a global level in relation to economic, political, ethical, religious and historical issues. All these goals would be focused on the need for peace, freedom, prosperity through democracy and economic market. But if this constructive trend is rushed, it can cause destructive results. We can see such examples in many places in the world. In this respect the Korean movement toward unification should be a stable, incremental, and constructive approach considering the regional and global context of the open system and human motivation framework because that would be the most efficient and effective approach. I believe South and North Korean have the capability to achieve Korean unification and regional security. Also I strongly believe that regional nations have grown up enough to achieve the grand global goals of peace, freedom, and prosperity through political democracy and the free market economy based on higher level human motivation which would be in harmony with human dignity and HONG IK IN GAN philosophy.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

USA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
UN	UNITED NATIONS
IAEA	INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
APEC	ASIAN PACIFIC ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
NAFTA	NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT
EEC	EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY
NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
ASEAN	ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS
ROK	REPUBLIC OF KOREA
USSR	UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
GNP	GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

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